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O F

Mr. P I T T, now Earl of CHATHAM;

U P O N T H E
S T A M P - A C T.

Wherein the Arguments of Mr. GR—V—LLE,
and others, in favour of the Act, are an-
swered.

D U B L I N :

Printed for J. S H E P P A R D, in Skinner-row.
MDCCLXVIII.

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INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE the meeting of p—rl—m—t, December 17th, 1765, it was understood, that Mr. P— was for the repeal of the Am—n ft—p act, and that the m—y concurred with him in opinion.

For some days before the meeting of p—t, a report had been circulated, that the minority had changed their mind in regard to the act, and, instead of repealing, were bent on enforcing it. If this report did not take its rise among the favourers of l—d B—, it was much indebted to them for its progress, which was so great, as to affect the stocks.

The k—'s speech on the 14th of January gave cover to the suggestion; but when the gentlemen (who moved for the address, and seconded it) had spoken, nothing could be clearer than that the m—y persisted in their intentions to promote the repeal.—The friends of the late m—y applauded the k—'s speech and approved of the proposed address, which, as usual, followed the speech exactly. But they took great offence at the tenderness of the expressions which the two first gentlemen had made use of, concerning Am—a. Mr. N—g—t particularly insisted, that the honour of the kingdom was concerned to compel the execution of the act, until the right was acknowledged,

and the repeal solicited as a favour :—That he would rather have a pepper-corn as an acknowledgement of the right, after the loss of forty battles, than millions without it. He computed the expence of the troops now employed in America for their defence, as he called it, to amount to nine pence in the pound of the land tax of England, while the produce of the st—p act would not raise one shilling an head on the inhabitants of Am——a : He failed not to expatiate on the ingratitude of the Colonies, and concluded with charging the m—st—s of encouraging petitions to p—rl—nt and instructions to members from the trading and manufacturing towns against the st—p act.

Mr. P——, who, according to the prevailing report, was not to appear in the house any more, but to be created an earl, was the next speaker. Every friend of his country rejoiced to see this rumour contradicted by his presence ; as he always begins very low, and every body was in agitation on his first rising, it was difficult to hear his introduction, until he said,

“ **I** CAME this day to town, and until I
 “ **I** heard them read in this house I was a
 “ stranger to the tenor of his m——y’s speech
 “ and the proposed address.—Unconnected—
 “ unconsulted, I have not the means of infor-
 “ mation : I am fearful of offending thro’ mis-
 “ take, therefore beg to be indulged with a se-
 “ cond reading of the proposed address.

The address being read, Mr. P—— commended the k——’s speech, approved of the address, as it decided nothing ; every member being left by it at liberty to take such a part concerning Am——a as he might afterwards see fit.

fit. The word *early* he did not approve of, it did, he said, belong to the notice that the m——y have given to the p—rl—m—t of the troubles in Am——a — in a matter of such importance it should have been immediate.

“ I speak not with respect of parties, I stand
 “ up in this place single and unconnected—as
 “ to the last m——y (turning to Mr. Gr—v—le)
 “ every capital measure they have taken, has
 “ been entirely wrong. As to the present gen-
 “ tlemen, those at least whom I have in my
 “ eye (looking at the bench where C—w—y
 “ sat with the l—s of the t——y) I have no
 “ objection; I have never been made a sacrifice
 “ by any of them; their characters are fair,
 “ and I am always glad when men of fair cha-
 “ racters engage in his m——y’s service. Some
 “ of them have done me the honour to ask my
 “ poor opinion before they would engage, these
 “ will do me the justice to own, that I advised
 “ them to engage. But, notwithstanding, I
 “ love to be explicit, I cannot give them my
 “ confidence; pardon me, gentlemen, (bowing
 “ to the t——y bench) confidence is a plant
 “ of slow growth in an aged bosom; youth is
 “ the season for credulity; comparing events
 “ with each other, reasoning from effects to
 “ causes—methinks I plainly discover the traces
 “ of an over-ruling influence, various influence
 “ over them. There is in the act of settlement
 “ a clause, that every minister should sign, with
 “ his name, the advice he gives his sovereign—
 “ would it were well observed! I have had the
 “ honour to serve the cr—n; if I could have
 “ submitted to influence I might have continued
 “ to serve; but I could not be responsible for
 “ others

“ others—I have no local attachment, indif-
 “ ferent whether a man had been rocked in his
 “ cradle on this or the other side of the Tweed,
 “ and I fought for merit where-ever it was to
 “ be found ; it is my boast I was the first m——r
 “ that ever looked for it, and when I found it
 “ in the mountains of the North, I called it
 “ forth, and drew thence into your service an
 “ hardy and intrepid race of men ; men, who,
 “ lost by your jealousy, a prey to the artifice of
 “ your enemies, had gone nigh to over-turn the
 “ state in the war before the last. These men,
 “ the last war, were brought to combat on your
 “ side ; they served with fidelity, as they fought
 “ with valour, and conquered for you in every
 “ part of the World.—Detested by the na-
 “ tional reflections against them, which are
 “ unjust, groundless, illiberal, unmanly. It
 “ was not the country of the men by which I
 “ was moved ; but that the men of that coun-
 “ try wanted wisdom, and held principles in-
 “ compatible with freedom.

“ It is a long time, Mr. sp——r, since I have
 “ attended the p———t. When the resolution
 “ was taken to t—x Am——a I was ill in bed
 “ —when the act passed, I was ill in bed ; if I
 “ could have endured to have been carried in
 “ my bed, so great was the agitation of my
 “ mind for the consequence, I would have so-
 “ licited some kind hand to have laid me down
 “ on this floor, to have born my testimony
 “ against it—it is now an act which has passed.

“ I would speak with a decency of every act
 “ of this h—se, but I must beg of this h—se,
 “ indulgence to speak of it with freedom,—I
 “ hope a day may be appointed to consider the
 “ state

“ state of the nation, with respect to Am——a ;
 “ I hope that all gentlemen will come to the
 “ debate, with that temper and impartiality
 “ which his majesty recommends, and the im-
 “ portance of the subject requires ; a subject of
 “ greater importance than ever engaged the
 “ attention of this house, that subject only ex-
 “ cepted, when, near a century ago, it was a
 “ question whether you yourselves were to be
 “ bond or free.

“ In the mean time, as I cannot depend on
 “ health for any future day, such is the nature
 “ of my infirmity, I will beg to say a few words
 “ at present ; leaving the justice, the equity,
 “ the policy, the expediency of the act, to ano-
 “ ther time, I will only speak of one point, a
 “ point which seems not to have been generally
 “ understood, I mean the right.——Some gen-
 “ tlemen (alluding to Mr. N—g—t) seem to
 “ have considered it as a point of honour ; if
 “ gentlemen consider it in that light, they lose
 “ all sight of right and wrong, by following a
 “ delusion which must lead to destruction.

“ It is my opinion that this kingdom has no
 “ right to lay a tax on the c—l—n—s ; at the
 “ same time I assert the authority of this king-
 “ dom over the c—l—n—s to be sovereign and
 “ supreme in every circumstance of government
 “ and legislation whatsoever ; they were sub-
 “ jects of this kingdom equally intitled by
 “ your laws to all the natural rights of manhood
 “ and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen ;
 “ equally bound to its laws, and equally par-
 “ ticipating of its constitution. The A——ns
 “ are sons, not bastards of England, but ac-
 “ cording to the constitution of this free country,
 “ taxation

“ taxation is no part of the governing or legis-
 “ lative power ; taxes are the voluntary grant
 “ or gift of the commons *alone* ; in legislation,
 “ the three estates of the realm are alike con-
 “ cerned ; but the concurrence of the peers
 “ and the crown to a tax is only necessary to
 “ clothe it with the form of a law : the gift and
 “ grant is of the commons *alone*.

“ In ancient days the cr—n, the barons and
 “ the clergy, gave, and granted to the cr—n ;
 “ they gave and granted what was their own.
 “ At present, since the discovery of Am——a,
 “ the c——ns are become the proprietors of
 “ the lands ; the cr—n has divested itself of
 “ its great estates ; the church (God bless it)
 “ has but a pittance ; the property of the l—ds,
 “ compared with that of the c——ns, is as a
 “ drop of water to the ocean ; and this house
 “ represents those c——ns, and those proprie-
 “ tors virtually represent the rest of the inha-
 “ bitants : We therefore, in this house, give
 “ and grant, what is our own ; but in an A——n
 “ tax, what do we do ? We your m——y’s
 “ c——ns of Great Britain, give and grant to
 “ your m——y, what ? Our own property ?
 “ No ; we give and grant to your m— —v,
 “ the property of your m——y’s commons in
 “ Am——a, an absurdity in terms. This dis-
 “ tinction between legislation and taxation, is
 “ essentially necessary to liberty ; the cr—n and
 “ the p—rs, are equally legislative powers
 “ with the c——ns. If taxation, then, be a
 “ part of simple legislation, the cr—n and the
 “ p—rs have rights in taxation, as well as your-
 “ selves, rights which they will claim, which
 “ they will exercise, whensoever the principal
 can

“ can be supported with power. There is an
 “ idea in some, that the c—l—n—s are virtually
 “ represented in this h—se, I would fain know
 “ by whom an Am——n is represented here?
 “ Is he represented by any kn—t of the shire
 “ of any county in the k——m, would to God
 “ that respectable representation were augment-
 “ ed to a greater number ! Or will you tell him
 “ he is represented by a representative of a
 “ b——gh ; a b——gh which, perhaps, was
 “ never seen by its representative ; a b——gh
 “ which, perhaps, no man ever saw ; this has
 “ been called the rotten part of the c—ft—tion,
 “ it will not probably endure for another cen-
 “ tury ; if it does not drop off of itself, it
 “ must be amputated : But the idea of a vir-
 “ tual representation of Am——a in this house
 “ is the most contemptible notion, that ever
 “ entered into the head of man, it does not de-
 “ serve a serious confutation.

“ The c——ns of Am——a, represented in
 “ their several assemblies, have ever been in the
 “ possession of the exercise of their constitutional
 “ right of giving and granting their own mo-
 “ ney, they would have been slaves if they had
 “ not enjoyed it ; at the same time this king-
 “ dom, as the supreme governing and legisla-
 “ tive power, has always bound the c—l—n—s
 “ by her laws, by her regulations, by her re-
 “ strictions in trade, in navigation, manufac-
 “ tures, in every article whatsoever, except that
 “ of taking the money out of their pockets,
 “ without their consent. Here then I would
 “ draw the line.

Quam ultra, citraque nequit consistere rectum.

Mr. P— spoke some time after, but in a voice so low that none but those who sat near him could distinguish what he said. A considerable pause ensued; Mr. C—nw—y then got up, and said he waited to see whether any answer would be given to what was advanced by the r—t h—ble gentleman, reserving himself, in expectation of a reply; but as none had been given, he had only to declare, that his sentiments were entirely conformable to those of that gentleman, “that they are so conformable (he said) “is a circumstance that affects me “with most sensible pleasure, and does me the “greatest honour. But two things fell from “that gentleman which gave me pain, as what- “ever falls from that gentleman, falls from so “great a height as to make a deep impression; “I must endeavour to remove it. It was ob- “jected, that the notice given to p——t, of “the troubles in Am——a was not early; I “can assure the house the first accounts were “too vague and imperfect, to be worthy the “attention of p——t, ’tis only of late they “have been precise and full. An over-ruling “influence has also been hinted at; I have seen “nothing of it. I feel nothing like it. I dis- “claim it for myself, and, as far as my discern- “ment can reach, for all the rest of his “m——y’s mi——rs. I did not ride into place “upon a stalking horse.”

It should have been observed, that Mr. P—, speaking of liberty, said it had been made use of as a stalking horse to ride into place.

“ Now

“ Now I am in, were I sensible I had done so,
 “ I would turn the reins, and ride out again.”

“ Mr. P—, in answer, said, “ the excuse is
 “ valid ; if it is a just one, that must appear
 “ from the papers now before the h——e, —
 “ the gentleman has spoken of riding into place,
 “ and riding out of place ; my advice to him
 “ is not to be ridden.”

In the interval, Mr. Gr—nv—lle had recovered himself; he avoided meddling with the doctrine of taxation being confined to the h—se of c——s, and being grounded on the free gift of the collective body, through the medium of the representative, neither did he attempt to defend the virtual representation of Am—a, but began with censuring the present m——y severely for delaying to give early notice to p——t of the disturbances in Am——a ; he said, they began in July, and now we are in the middle of January, “ lately they were only occurrences
 “ (the word used in the k—g’s f——h, December 17th) they are now grown into disturbances, to tumults, to riots, I doubt they border upon open rebellion ; and if the doctrine I have heard this day be confirmed, I fear they will lose that name, to take that of a rev——tion ; this g——nt over them being dissolved, a rev——tion will take place in
 “ Am——a.

“ I cannot understand the difference between
 “ internal and external taxes, they are the same
 “ in effect, and differ only in name.

“ That this kingdom is the sovereign, the
 “ supreme legislative power, over Am——a, is
 “ granted, it cannot be denied, and taxation
 “ is a part of that sovereign power ; it is, it has
 “ been

“ been, exercised over those, who were not re-
 “ presented ; ’tis exercised over the East India
 “ company merchants of London, the proprie-
 “ tors of the stocks, and over many great and
 “ manufacturing towns ; it was exercised over
 “ the Palatinate of Durham, and bishopric of
 “ Chester, before they sent any representatives
 “ to parliament : I appeal to the preambles of
 “ the acts which gave them representatives ; the
 one in the reign of Henry the eighth, the other
 “ of Charles the second.”

He then quoted the statutes exactly, desired
 they might be read, which being done, he resum-
 ed his discourse.

“ When I proposed to tax Am——a, I asked
 “ the house, whether any gentleman objected
 “ to the right ? I repeatedly asked it, and no
 “ man would attempt to deny it ; protection
 “ and obedience are reciprocal ; Great-Britain
 “ protects Am——a, Am——a is bound to
 “ yield obedience ; if not, tell me, when the
 “ Am——s were emancipated ? When they
 “ want the protection of this kingdom, they are
 “ ready enough to ask it. That protection has
 “ been always afforded them in the most full
 “ and ample manner : The nation has run itself
 “ into an immense debt, to give them that pro-
 “ tection, and now they are called upon to con-
 “ tribute a small share towards the public ex-
 “ pence, an expence arising from themselves,
 “ they renounce your authority, insult your
 “ officers, break out, I might almost say, into
 “ acts of open rebellion.

“ This seditious spirit of the c—l—s owes its
 “ birth to the factions of this house. Gentle-
 “ men are careless of the consequences of what
 “ they

“ they say, provided it answers the immediate
 “ purpose of opposition. We were told we trod
 “ on tender ground, we were bad to expect dis-
 “ obedience: What was this but telling the
 “ Am——ns to stand up against the law? To
 “ encourage them with expectations of support
 “ from hence: Let us only hold out a little,
 “ they would say, our friends will soon be in
 “ power.

“ Ungrateful people of America! Bounties
 “ have been extended to them, when I had the
 “ honour to serve the cr—n, while you your-
 “ selves were loaded with enormous debts: You
 “ have given bounties on their lumber, their
 “ iron, their hemp; many articles you have re-
 “ laxed in their favour; the act of navigation,
 “ that palladium of British commerce: And yet
 “ I have been abused in all the public prints, as
 “ an enemy to the trade of America. I have
 “ been particularly charged with giving orders
 “ and instructions to prevent their Spanish trade,
 “ and thereby stopping the channels, by which
 “ alone N—— Am——a used to be supplied
 “ with cash for remittances to this country. I
 “ defy any gentleman to produce such orders
 “ or instructions: I discouraged no trade but
 “ what was illicit, what was prohibited by act
 “ of parliament. I desire a West-India merchant,
 “ Mr. L—g, a gentleman of character, and well
 “ known in this city, may be examined; he will
 “ tell you, I offered every thing in my power
 “ to advance the trade of America. I was above
 “ answering anonymous calumnies, but now it
 “ becomes me to wipe off aspersions.”

Here Mr. Gr—nv—lle ceased, several mem-
 bers rose up to speak; Mr. P— seeming to rise,
 the

the house was so clamorous for him, that the speaker called it to order.

Mr. P— then began by prefacing, that he did not mean to have gone farther on the subject that day, that he designed only to throw out a few hints, which gentlemen, who were so confident of the right of this kingdom to levy taxes on Am——a, might consider, might reflect upon, in a cooler manner. That the right was at least equivocal : but, since the gentleman who spoke last, had not stopped on that ground, but had gone into the whole, into the justice, the equity, the policy, the expediency of the f——p act, as well as into the right, he would follow him into the whole field, and combat his argument in every point. He was proceeding, when lord S——e got up, and called both gentlemen to order : He said, that both had departed from the matter before the house, which was the k—'s speech ; and that Mr. P— was going to speak twice in the same debate, tho' the house was not in a committee.

Mr. G—e On—w said, they were both in order, as there was nothing said but what was fairly deducible from his m——'s speech and appealed to the sp——r.—The sp——r decided in Mr. O—w's favour.

Then Mr. P— said, “ I do not apprehend I
 “ am speaking twice, I did expressly reserve a
 “ part of my subject, in order to save the time
 “ of the house ; but am compelled to proceed in
 “ it. I do not speak twice ; I only finish what
 “ I had designedly left imperfect ; but should
 “ the house be of a different opinion, far be it
 “ from me to indulge a wish of transgressing
 “ against order ; if it be your pleasure I am si-
 “ lent.”

“lent.” Here he paused; the house resounding with, “go on, go on,” he then proceeded:

“Those gentlemen, who have charged this
 “house with giving birth to sedition in Am—a,
 “have spoken their sentiments with freedom
 “against those unhappy people—that freedom
 “has become their crime, and I am sorry to
 “hear the liberty of speech, in this house, im-
 “puted as a crime; but the imputation shall not
 “discourage me: It is a liberty which I mean
 “to exercise. No gentleman should be afraid
 “to exercise it; it is a liberty by which the
 “gentleman who calumniates it, might himself
 “have profited, he ought to have profited, and
 “to have desisted from his projects. The gen-
 “tleman tells us Am—a is obstinate; Am—a
 “is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that
 “Am—a has resisted. Three millions of
 “people, so dead to all feelings of liberty as
 “voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have
 “been fit instruments to make slaves of all the
 “rest. I come not here armed at all points
 “with law-cases and acts of parliament, with
 “the statute book doubled down into dog’s ears,
 “to defend the cause of liberty: If I had, I
 “should myself have cited the two cases of
 “Durham and Chester; I would have cited
 “them to have shewn that even in arbitrary
 “reigns, parliaments were ashamed to tax the
 “people without their consent, and allowed
 “them representatives. Why did the gentle-
 “man confine himself to Durham and Chester?
 “he might have taken a higher example in
 “Wales: Wales, which never was taxed by
 “p—nt until it was incorporated. I would
 “not debate a particular point of law with the
 “gentle-

“ gentleman. I know his abilities, I have been
 “ obliged to his diligent researches ; but for the
 “ defence of liberty upon a general principle, a
 “ constitutional principle, it is a ground on
 “ which I stand firm, on which I dare meet any
 “ man. The gentleman tells of many who are
 “ taxed and are not represented. The India
 “ company merchants, stockholders, manufac-
 “ turers : Surely many of these are represented
 “ in other capacities as owners of lands, or as
 “ freemen of boroughs. It is a misfortune that
 “ men are not actually represented ; but they are
 “ all inhabitants, and as such are virtually re-
 “ presented. Many have it in their option to
 “ to be actually represented. They have con-
 “ nections with those who elect, and they have
 “ an influence over them.—The gentleman
 “ mentioned the stockholders, I hope he does
 “ not reckon the debts of the nation, as part of
 “ the national estate. Since the accession of
 “ king William, many ministers, some of great,
 “ others of moderate abilities, have taken the
 “ lead in government.”——[He then went
 through the list of them, bringing it down to
 himself, giving a short sketch of the character
 of each] “ None of these ever dreamed of rob-
 “ bing the colonies of their constitutional rights,
 “ it was reserved to make the Æra of the late
 “ administration ; not that there were wanting
 “ some, when I had the honour to serve his
 “ m——y, to propose to me the burning my
 “ fingers in the Am——n ft—p act ; with the
 “ enemy at their backs, with our bayonets at
 “ their breasts. In the day of their distress,
 “ perhaps the A——ns would have submitted
 “ to the imposition, but it would have been tak-
 “ ing

“ ing an ungenerous and unjust advantage.—

“ The gentleman boasts of his bounties to

“ Am——a ; are these bounties finally intended

“ for the benefit of this kingdom? If they are,

“ where is his peculiar favour to Am——a? If

“ they are not, he has misapplied the national

“ treasure.

“ I am no courtier of A——a, I stand up for

“ this kingdom, I maintain, that p—rl——nt

“ has a right to bind, to restrain Am——a.

“ Our legislative power over the colonies is sove-

“ reign and supreme; when it ceases to be sove-

“ reign and supreme, I advise every gentleman

“ to sell his lands, if he can, and embark for

“ that country. When two countries are con-

“ nected, as England and her colonies, without

“ without being incorporated, the one must ne-

“ cessarily govern the other. The greater must

“ rule the lesser; but she must so rule it, as

“ not to contradict the fundamental principles

“ that are common to both. If the gentleman

“ understands not the difference between inter-

“ nal and external taxes, I cannot help it; there

“ is a plain difference between taxes levied for

“ the purpose of raising a revenue, and duties

“ imposed for the regulation of trade, for the

“ accommodation of the subject, altho' in the

“ consequences some revenue might arise acci-

“ dentally from the latter.

“ The gentleman asks, when the c——s were

“ emancipated? I desire to know, when they

“ were made slaves? but I dwell not upon words.

“ While I had the honour of serving his m——y,

“ I availed myself of the means of information,

“ which I derived from my office: I speak, there-

“ fore, from knowledge; my materials were

C

“ good

“ good, and I was at pains to digest, to collect,
 “ to consider them: I will be bold to affirm, that
 “ the profits to Great-Britain from the trade of
 “ its colonies, through all its branches, is two
 “ millions a year. This is the fund that carried
 “ you triumphantly through the late war.
 “ Threescore years ago, estates that were then at
 “ two thousand pounds a year, are now at three
 “ thousand. Those estates then sold from fif-
 “ teen to eighteen years purchase, the same may
 “ now be sold for thirty. You owe this to
 “ Am—a: this is the price that Am—a pays
 “ you for her protection. And shall a miserable
 “ financier come with a boast, that he can filch
 “ a pepper-corn into the exchequer, to the loss
 “ of millions to the nation? I dare not say how
 “ much higher: It is possible these profits may
 “ be augmented, omitting the great increase of
 “ people by natural population in the northern
 “ colonies, and the emigration from every part
 “ of Europe. I am convinced the whole commer-
 “ cial system of Am—a may be allowed to
 “ advantage; you have prohibited, when you
 “ ought to have encouraged; you have encour-
 “ aged when you ought to have prohibited;
 “ improper restraints have been laid on the con-
 “ tinent, in favour of the islands. You have
 “ but two nations to trade with in Am—a
 “ (would you had twenty) let acts of p—t,
 “ in consequence of treaties, remain. But let
 “ not an E—sh minister, become a custom-
 “ house officer for S—n, for any foreign power:
 “ Much is wrong, much may be amended for
 “ the general good of the whole. Does the
 “ gentleman complain that he has been misre-
 “ presented in the public prints? It is a common
 “ mis-

“ misfortune; in the Sp——sh affair in the last
 “ war, I was abused in all the news-papers, for
 “ having advised his majesty to violate the laws
 “ of nations with regard to S——n; the abuse was
 “ industriously circulated, even in hand-bills:
 “ The admi——n propagated the abuse. I ne-
 “ ver contradicted it—I will not say what advice
 “ I did give the k—g, my advice is in writing,
 “ signed by myself, and in possession of the
 “ c—n. But I will say what advice I did not
 “ give the k—g, I did not advise the k—g to
 “ violate any of the laws of nations.

“ As to the report of the gentleman’s prevent-
 ing in some way, the trade for bullion with the
 Spaniards, it was spoken of so confidently, that
 I own I was one of those who did believe it to be
 true; the gentleman must not wonder that he
 was not contradicted, when, as a minister, he
 asserted the right of p—l—m—t to t—x A——a.
 I know not how it is, but there is a modesty in
 this h—se, that does not choose to contradict a
 m—st—r. I wish gentlemen would get the bet-
 ter of that modesty; if they do not, perhaps the
 collective body may begin to abate of its respect
 for the rep——e.”

“ Lord Bacon has told me, that a great ques-
 tion would not fail of being agitated at one time
 or other; I was willing to agitate that of the
 German war. Nobody would object to it, one
 gentleman only excepted; since removed into
 the upper house by succession to an ancient baro-
 ny; he told me he did not like my German war,
 I honoured the man for it, and was sorry when
 he was turned out of his post.”

“ A great deal has been said out of doors, of
 the power and strength of Am——a. It is a

topic that ought to be cautiously meddled with. In a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush Am——a to atoms. I know the valour of your troops, I know the skill of your officers: There is not a company of foot that has served in Am——a out of which you may not pick a man of sufficient knowledge and experience, to make a governor of a colony there; but on a dangerous ground, on the st—p a—, where so many here will think it a crying injustice (I am one will lift up my hands against it) in such a cause your success would be hazardous. Am——a, if she falls, would fall like a strong man; she would embrace the pillars of the state and pull down the con——n along with her."

"Is this your boasted peace? Not to sheath your sword in the scabbard, but to sheath it in the bowels of your countrymen.—Will you quarrel with your selves, now that the whole house of Bourbon is united against you? While Fr——e disturbs your fisheries at Newfoundland, embarrasses your slave trade in Africa, and withholds from your s—cts in Canada their property, stipulated by treaty, while the r——om of the Manillas is denied by S——n, and its conqueror B——y traduced as a mean plunderer. The gentleman whose noble and generous spirit would do honour to the proudest grandee of their country."

"Say the Am——ans have not acted in all things with prudence and temper; they have been wronged, they have been driven to madness by injustice: Will you punish them for the madness you have created? Rather let prudence and temper come first from this side. I will undertake

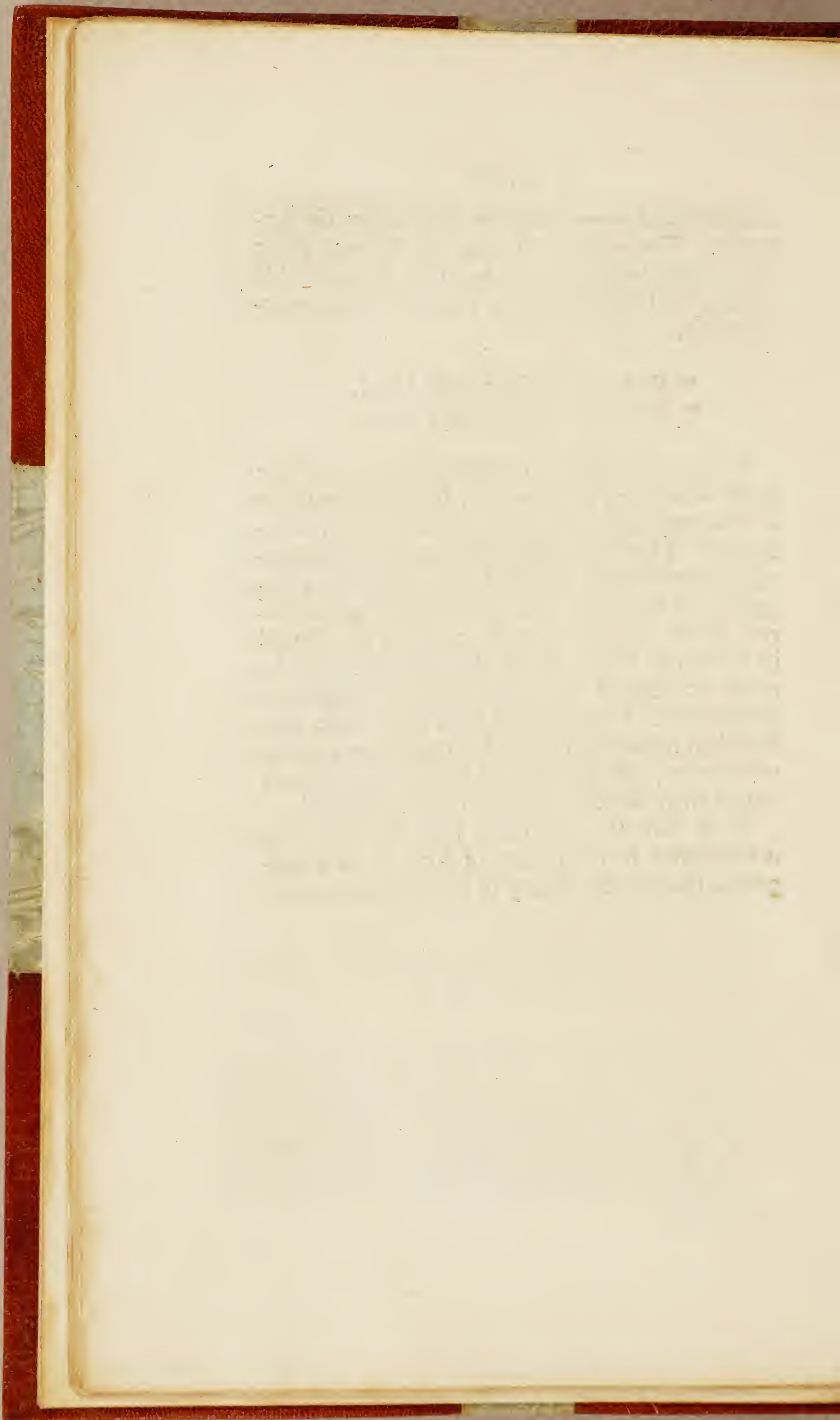
dertake for A——a that she will follow the example. There are two lines of the poet Prior for a man's behaviour to his wife, so applicable to you, and your colonies, I cannot help repeating them,

“ Be to her faults a little blind,

“ Be to her Virtues very kind.

“ Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the house what is my real opinion: It is that the st—p a— be repealed absolutely, totally and immediately. That the reason of the repeal be assigned, because it was founded upon erroneous principles; at the same time let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be advised—and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever: That we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consents.”

N. B. Mr. P— observed, that the man who is an enemy to the liberty of Am—a, is a dangerous man to the liberty of his own country.



THE
S P E E C H
O P
L O R D C A M D E N
O N T H E
D E C L A R A T O R Y B I L L,
O F T H E
Sovereignty of GREAT BRITAIN over the
C O L O N I E S.

“ W H E N I spoke last on this subject, I
“ thought I had delivered my senti-
“ ments so fully, and supported them with such
“ reasons, and such authorities, that I appre-
“ hended I should be under no necessity of trou-
“ bling your —— again. But I am now com-
“ pelled to rise up, and to beg your further in-
“ dulgence : I find that I have been very inju-
“ riously treated ; have been considered as the
“ broacher of new-fangled doctrines, contrary
“ to the laws of this kingdom, and subversive
“ of the rights of p——t, ——, this is
“ a heavy

“ a heavy charge, but more so when made
 “ against one stationed as I am in both capaci-
 “ ties, as P—— and J——, the defender of the
 “ law and the constitution. When I spoke last,
 “ I was indeed replied to, but not answered.
 “ In the intermediate time, many things have
 “ been said. As I was not present, I must now
 “ beg leave to answer such as have come to my
 “ knowledge. As the affair is of the utmost
 “ importance, and in its consequences may in-
 “ volve the fate of kingdoms, I took the strict-
 “ est review of my arguments; I re-examined
 “ all my authorities; fully determined, if I
 “ found myself mistaken, publicly to own my
 “ mistake, and give up my opinion; but my
 “ searches have more and more convinced me,
 “ that the B——h p——t have no right to
 “ tax the Am——s. I shall not therefore con-
 “ sider the declaratory bill now lying on your
 “ t——e; for to what purpose, but loss of
 “ time, to consider the particulars of a ——,
 “ the very existence of which is illegal, abso-
 “ lutely illegal, contrary to the fundamental
 “ laws of nature, contrary to the fundamental
 “ laws of this constitution? a constitution
 “ grounded on the eternal and immutable laws
 “ of nature; a constitution whose foundation
 “ and centre is liberty, which sends liberty to
 “ every subject that is or may happen to be
 “ within any part of its ample circumference.
 “ Nor, ——, is the doctrine new, 'tis as
 “ old as the constitution; it grew up with it,
 “ indeed it is its support; taxation and repre-
 “ sentation are inseparably united, God hath
 “ joined them, no B——h p——t can sepa-
 “ rate them; to endeavour to do it, is to stab
 “ our

“ our very vitals. Nor is this the first time this
 “ doctrine has been mentioned ; seventy years
 “ ago, ———, a pamphlet was published,
 “ recommending the levying a parliamentary
 “ tax on one of the colonies ; this pamphlet was
 “ answered by two others, then much read ;
 “ these totally deny the power of taxing the
 “ colonies ; and why ? because the colonies had
 “ no representatives in parliament, to give con-
 “ sent ; no answer public or private, was given
 “ to these pamphlets, no censure passed upon
 “ them ; men were not startled at the doctrine,
 “ as either new or illegal, or derogatory to the
 “ rights of p——t. I do not mention these
 “ pamphlets by way of authority, but to vin-
 “ dicate myself from the imputation of having
 “ first broached this doctrine.

“ My position is this——I repeat it——I will
 “ maintain it to my last hour,——taxation and
 “ representation are inseparable ;——this posi-
 “ tion is founded on the laws of nature ; it is
 “ more, it is itself an eternal law of nature ;
 “ for whatever is a man’s own, is absolutely his
 “ own ; no man hath a right to take it from
 “ him without his consent, either expressed by
 “ himself or representative ; whoever attempts
 “ to do it, attempts an injury ; whoever does it,
 “ commits a robbery ; he throws down and de-
 “ stroys the distinction between liberty and
 “ slavery. Taxation and representation are
 “ coeval with and essential to this constitution.
 “ I wish the maxim of Machiavel was followed,
 “ that of examining a constitution, at certain
 “ periods, according to its first principles ; this
 “ would correct abuses and supply defects. I

D

“ wish.

“ with the times would bear it, and that mens
 “ minds were cool enough to enter upon such a
 “ talk, and that the representative authority of
 “ this kingdom was more equally settled. I am
 “ sure some histories, of late published, have
 “ done great mischief; to endeavour to fix the
 “ Æra when the house of c——s began in
 “ this kingdom, is a most pernicious and de-
 “ structive attempt; to fix it an Edward’s or
 “ Henry’s reign, is owing to the idle dreams of
 “ some whimsical, ill-judging antiquarians: but,
 “ ———, this is a point too important to be
 “ left to such wrong-headed people. When
 “ did the house of c——s first begin? when,
 “ ———? it began with the constitution, it
 “ grew up with the constitution; there is not
 “ a blade of grass growing in the most obscure
 “ corner of this kingdom, which is not, which
 “ was not ever represented since the constitution
 “ began; there is not a blade of grass, which,
 “ when taxed, was not taxed by the consent of
 “ the proprietor. There is a history written by
 “ one Carte, a history that most people now see
 “ through; and there is another favourite his-
 “ tory, much read and admired. I will not
 “ name the author, your ——— must know
 “ whom I mean, and you must know from
 “ whence he pilfered his notions, concerning the
 “ first beginning of the house of c——s.
 “ ———, I challenge any one to point out
 “ the time when any tax was laid upon any
 “ person by p——t, that person being unre-
 “ presented in p——t. ——— the p——t
 “ laid a tax upon the palatinate of Chester,
 “ and ordered commissioners to collect it there;

“ as commissioners were ordered to collect it in
 “ other counties ; but the palatinate refused to
 “ comply ; they addressed the king by petition,
 “ setting forth, that the English p——t had
 “ no right to tax them, that they had a parlia-
 “ ment of their own, that they had always
 “ taxed themselves, and therefore desired the
 “ king to order his commissioners not to pro-
 “ ceed, ———, the king received the peti-
 “ tion ; he did not declare them either sediti-
 “ ous or rebellious, but allowed their plea, and
 “ they taxed themselves. Your ——— may
 “ see both the petition and the king’s answer in
 “ the records in the Tower. The clergy taxed
 “ themselves : when the p——t attempted
 “ to tax them, they stoutly refused ; said they
 “ were not represented there ; that they had a
 “ parliament of their own, which represented
 “ the clergy ; that they would tax themselves :
 “ they did so. Much stress has been laid upon
 “ Wales, before it was united as it now is, as
 “ if the king, standing in the place of their
 “ former princes of that country, raised money
 “ by his own authority : but the real fact is
 “ otherwise ; for I find that, long before Wales
 “ was subdued, the northern counties of that
 “ principality had representatives and a parlia-
 “ ment or assembly. As to Ireland, ———,
 “ before that kingdom had a p——t as it
 “ now has, if your ——— will examine the
 “ old records, you will find, that when a tax
 “ was to be laid on that country, the Irish sent
 “ over here representatives ; and the same re-
 “ cords will inform your——, what wages those
 “ representatives received from their constitu-

“ ents. In short, my ———, from the whole
 “ of our history, from the earliest period, you
 “ will find that taxation and representation were
 “ always united ; so true are the words of that
 “ consummate reasoner and politician Mr. Locke.
 “ I before alluded to his book ; I have again
 “ consulted him ; and finding what he writes
 “ so applicable to the subject in hand, and so
 “ much in favour of my sentiments, I beg
 “ your ——— leave to read a little of his
 “ book.

“ The supreme power cannot take from any
 “ man, any part of his property, without his
 “ own consent ; and B. II. p. 136—139, par-
 “ ticularly 140. Such are the words of this
 “ great man, and which are well worth your
 “ ——— serious attention. His principles are
 “ drawn from the heart of our constitution,
 “ which he thoroughly understood, and will last
 “ as long as that shall last ; and, to his immortal
 “ honour, I know not to what, under provi-
 “ dence, the revolution and all its happy effects,
 “ are more owing, than to the principles of
 “ government laid down by Mr. Locke. For
 “ these reasons, ———, I can never give my
 “ assent to any bill for taxing the Am——n
 “ c——s, while they remain unrepresented ;
 “ for as to the distinction of a virtual repre-
 “ sentation, it is so absurd as not to deserve an
 “ answer ; I therefore pass it over with contempt.
 “ The forefathers of the Am——ns did not
 “ leave their native country, and subject them-
 “ selves to every danger and distress, to be re-
 “ duced to a state of slavery : they did not give

“ up

“ up their rights; they looked for protection,
 “ and not for chains, from their mother coun-
 “ try: by her they expected to be defended
 “ in the possession of their property, and not to
 “ be deprived of it: for, should the present
 “ power continue, there is nothing which they
 “ can call their own; or, to use the words of
 “ Mr. Locke, What property can they have in
 “ that, which another may, by right, take,
 “ when he pleases, to himself.”

F I N I S.



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Handwritten text at the bottom of the page, possibly a signature or a concluding note. The script is cursive and somewhat faded.







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